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ROADS TO SOCIAL PEACE

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THE WEIL LECTURES, 1924, ON
AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

BY

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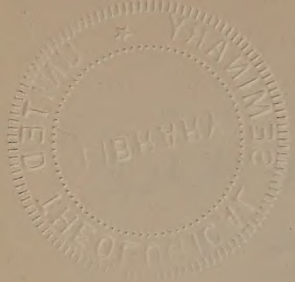

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INTRODUCTION

My object is to promote social peace. Whatever our attitudes toward international relations, I suppose we are all social pacifists, i. e., advocates of the peaceful adjustment of all matters which may come up between sections or classes or groups within a society. The most cynical militarists, the von Moltkes and Bernhardis, agree that antagonistic social groups within the nation must never be allowed to go to breaking heads. Either these apologists for war do not really believe that war is a good thing, but oppose alternatives to war because they expect their country to profit by warfare; or else they favor social peace because they know that social strife impairs the military strength of a nation and makes it weaker before its foes.

Certainly a national organization is nothing if it is not a peace area. Politi-

cally considered the nation is a league—of communities, or population elements—to enforce peace. No self-respecting government tolerates a resort to armed conflict within its jurisdiction. Impotent indeed is a state which cannot check fighting between bodies of its citizens.

To be sure, issues of the gravest sort are bound to arise between social groups, but this need not result in infraction of the peace. If they cannot be settled by negotiation and compromise, by boards of conciliation, by voluntary arbitration, or by the pressure of public opinion, means of arriving at a just settlement are supposed to be provided in legislative acts, in the decisions of administrative officials, in the verdicts of courts of justice. The venerable legal maxim, *Nulla injuria sine remedia*, proclaims that the law stands ready to seek a remedy for every wrong.

Inter-group conflict is forestalled not only by guarantees embedded in the Constitution, against class privilege or a

majority tyranny and providing for representation on the basis of numbers, but also by general maxims which determine the attitude of the public toward conflicting groups. Such are "This is a free country," "Equality before the law," "Liberty but not license," "Religion is a private matter," "Every one is entitled to his day in court," "An indestructible union of indestructible states." It is my aim not only to set forth the unformulated principles by which Americans are even now avoiding or damping internal conflicts, but also to arrive at fresh principles from a review of American experience and from an examination of the factors which enter into conflict-breeding situations.

Profiting by the lessons of experience we Americans have attained along certain lines to no small wisdom in foreseeing and avoiding physical conflict between local communities, regions, sections, religious bodies and political parties. On the other hand, with respect to new types

of opposition, such as we see in the labor-capital disputes and the town-country feud, most of us are puzzled, confused and helpless. Longer contact with these phenomena is necessary before our leaders will be agreed as to what causes such conflicts and by what measures or policies they may be attenuated. Here is an opportunity for constructive suggestions.

Social peace means something more than refraining from the use of fists, brickbats, cudgels, revolvers or shotguns. It implies that such baleful and anti-social passions as envy, jealousy and hatred are not being engendered on a large scale. It implies, furthermore, that there is sufficient good will for members of opposing groups to coöperate freely in a social, political, or business way when opportunities for advantageous coöperation present themselves. Nevertheless, there will be tensions if the healthy processes of social adjustment are to go on. Fundamentalists and liberals, conserva-

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tives and progressives, open-shoppers and closed-shoppers, protectionists and free-traders, conservationists and "developers," drys and wets, must be allowed to become conscious of their disagreements and to thresh them out in the open even if some heat and ill will be generated in the process.

Toleration is not always a social virtue. If society is to make rapid progress, we should not encourage toleration of "dark" forces, of types and elements which are anti-social and sinister. For law-abiders to become tolerant of grafters and bootleggers, for friends of child-welfare to cease to denounce the vice-caterers who prey on childhood, for physicians to become indifferent to quacks and dope-peddlers, for conservationists to feel less ire at grabbers of natural resources, for educationists to hit more mildly penny-pinching communities which starve their schools—would be a public calamity. On the other hand, when it is not a plain case of social versus anti-social—as in the dif-

ferences between color races in the same area, occupation groups, economic classes, religious sects and political parties—the tolerant spirit should be cultivated.

Then, too, if the social procession is not to be strung out all the way from the stone age to super-civilization, the stragglers should be prodded. Those of high standards should really contemn those of low standards or no standards. Does it make for social progress that the clean should hobnob with the unwashed, the sober with the sot, the chaste with the lewd, the refined with the foul-mouthed, the clad with the half-naked, those who eat from a table with those who squat on their heels about a dish on the floor, those who keep their children in school with those who could do so but prefer to exploit them, those who leave their daughters in the house with those who make them toil in the field? Surely not. Let those who wilfully linger on a lower plane be stung by the disdain of the more aspiring. If I see a man in the gutter, I do not lie

down with him in the gutter but help him up out of it and do my best to make him want to get up. This does not mean, of course, that the snobbish should look down on those of a simpler style of living.

In every society, in times of stress or alarm, there crop up men whose temperament, upbringing, or personal experience is such that they become wrought-up over this and that unlikeness and cry out that the nation or the race is headed for ruin if a certain element be tolerated. Such are the fanatics, bigots, inquisitors, firebrands, stormy petrels, alarmists, demagogues, for-God's-sake-ers, bunk-shooters, and finders of mare's nests, who spread incendiary lies about the Mormons, the Free Masons, the Catholics, the Negroes, Wall Street, organized labor, the foreign-born, the "reds," the liberal professors of economics, the social workers, the teachers of evolution. Men of breadth and balance should be at all times ready to "go to the mat" with these.

The struggles between unlike groups—racial, nationalistic, cultural, religious—may be damped not only by the inculcators of the spirit of toleration, but also by solid constitutional provisions which make each element feel secure from ever being brought under the domination of an unsympathetic element. In the opposition of interest groups—capitalists and workingmen, farmers and townsmen, businessmen and the farmer-labor people—the chief mitigating circumstance is the certainty that the interests of no group shall be at the mercy of an opposing group; but that the issues which come up between groups and can not be settled by negotiations shall be settled by a well informed public opinion, an impartial judiciary, or a disinterested legislature. For nothing is so strife-provoking as the selfish wielding of power by one class in utter disregard of the interests of other classes.

To some extent inter-group conflict varies inversely with international conflict. A nation rent by internal conflicts

and feuds shrinks from the supreme test of war; conversely, when a nation is at war the social groups are more willing to sink their differences and compromise their conflicting claims.

To some extent inter-group conflict varies inversely with inter-individual conflict, i. e., personal competition. A man sticks to his group and fights for its success when, in competing with individual members of other groups, he cannot get a decision on his merits. Feeling that the cards are stacked against him in the man-to-man contest, he enters the group-to-group contest in the hope that through the success of his group he may obtain a square deal, or even an unfair advantage. Protestants join the Ku Klux Klan if they believe that Catholics are juggling matters so as to fill the public schools with teachers graduated from church schools. Likewise, one becomes an active worker for his party, if he believes that the party now in power is reserving all the desirable posts for its members.

From the types of inter-group conflict I consider in the following pages, the reader will miss one, namely, *race conflict*, which with us means conflict between whites and negroes. This certainly has spilled more blood and roused more hellish passions than any other type of internal conflict; and the reader will wonder why I pass it by. My reason is that I do not know what is the "road to peace" for intermingled color races.

CHAPTER I

THE AVOIDANCE OF SECTIONALISM

The United States is imperial in area. If we lay a map of Europe upon a map of the United States constructed to the same scale, the western coast of Spain would coincide with the coast of southern California; Constantinople would rest near Charleston, South Carolina; Sicily near New Orleans; and the southern coast of the Baltic would fall in line with the southern coast of Lake Superior. Thus in size the United States is comparable not with a single nation of Europe, but with all of Europe, exclusive of Russia. It is also comparable with Europe in that it is made up of separate geographic provinces; each capable in size, resources and peculiarities of physical condition to be the abode of a European nation, or of several nations.

Professor Turner is right. Nature has laid a basis for sectionalism among us in the peculiarities which differentiate our huge country into the seaboard, the mineralized region, the corn belt, the wheat belt, the cotton kingdom, the timbered area, the Great Lakes country, the arid

region, the Pacific Slope. Nor is this all. Reinforcing factors have come in. The adoption of slavery throughout the South gave rise to the most intense sectionalism in our history with the resulting tragedy of the Civil War. Even now the negro is still the problem of the South and southern sectionalism will not altogether disappear. The Pacific slope is set apart not only by the barrier of mountain and desert but by the peculiar concern with Oriental trade and Oriental immigration. Its manufacturing industries and its heavy placements of capital in other parts of the country cause the East to have a mind of its own as to national defense, tariffs, federal income tax, trust regulation, immigration, money, banking and railroads.

On the other hand, the century-old friction between the older parts and the zone of advancing settlement ended with the disappearance of the frontier. There is no longer a West demanding paper money, free banking and liberal distribu-

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tion of the public domain. As manufactures spread below Mason and Dixon line the South ceases to be solid against the tariff. As negroes drift North, more Northerners are able to get the Southern white man's point of view of the race question. As unifying interests multiply the East is less set against a Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway or the development of the arid region by Federal irrigation enterprises.

Such isolation as the railroads have not put an end to is being wiped out by the automobile, not to mention the aeroplane. In our time local-mindedness is a thing hard to keep alive. Aside from newspapers, no section has its own reading matter. There is no sectional literature in the sense of literature read in a section. The poems and stories most redolent of the peculiar life of the Maine woods, the Lower East Side of New York, the Pennsylvania mill towns, the cane fields of the Gulf, the high camps of Colorado, the ranches of the Southwest or the San Fran-

cisco waterfront move persons to laughter or tears in every part of the country. Sectional centers for bringing out the good stuff New York and Boston will not publish do not appear for the simple reason that the Eastern magazine editors and publishers aim to put out what will be read everywhere and recognize their need of a frequent "bath in the United States." The national magazines tend to standardize our thinking and feeling and taste, while their advertising pages standardize our clothes, household interiors and manner of life. The national circulation of motion films causes us all to giggle or weep at the same pictures. As for radio, there is no telling what it may do in breaking down mental isolation. The World War with its tremendous accent on "we" and "our" caused sectional pride and loyalty to become thin and faint. The Liberty Loan campaigns were coercive advertising in the interest of national unity. Everything conspires to lay us open to the power of reiterated suggestion

via print. Whatever the future may hold in store for us, it would seem that in our time at least the nationalizing forces have the upperhand of the sectionalizing forces.

Written in letters of blood, no political lesson has been more thoroughly learned by Americans than the menace which lurks in the discord between sections. A legislative majority shrinks from riding roughshod over a solid block of votes from a protesting section. Whenever a section plainly shows soreness over its treatment, public men become anxious and hasten to placate it. If the national interest or the interest of some other section vetoes its demand, they seek to appease it by offering it something else it may covet. No end of bargains are made to win the support of this or that section for a national policy. In the formative stages of bills, in committees or Committee of the Whole the processes of intersectional adjustment go on with little noise. Almost never do we hear a set speech voicing the ire of a disgruntled section. It is too much like

lighting a match in a powder mill. There is plain speaking aplenty, but it occurs behind the closed doors of the committee rooms of the legislature, Congress, or the party convention. The party platform or legislative program is framed to command the normal party strength in all sections of the country. Sudden disappearance of party lines in a section and its exhibition of a solid front startles the American politician like a fire bell in the night.

The technique of keeping sectional feeling and loyalty within safe limits seems to embrace the following policies:

1. *Proportionality of Representation in Government.* The Piedmont Plateau, or upland area of the South, reaching from the tidewater belt to the Appalachians, runs like a peninsula from Pennsylvania southward till it touches the northern edge of the Gulf Plain. It was settled after the middle of the eighteenth century by migrants from Pennsylvania and had little in common with the older life of the seaboard or tidewater region. It was the

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first "western" region, non-slave-holding, a land of dissenting sects, and of primitive democratic conditions. So in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina between 1750 and 1830 struggles developed between the up-country and the coast. The old wealthy slave-holding lowland denied the rapidly growing up-country a representation corresponding to its numbers. The apportionment of representatives was fixed in the constitution of the colony or state, and as time went on the discrepancy between the actual representation of the up-country in the legislature and what it should be on the basis of equal representation of equal numbers, became more glaring.

The up-country people complained that their petitions for internal improvements met with scant consideration in a legislature in which they had few delegates. The western Virginians claimed that they had been denied free common schools while their taxes had been taken to maintain a state university for the sons of

aristocrats. This sectionalism provided one basis for the separation of West Virginia from the Old Dominion.

In order to cling to political power the tidewater minority area denied that the majority has a natural right to rule. They insisted on extra representation according to the number of their slaves in order that they might be able to protect their "peculiar" property against "unjust taxation and fanatical assault." The migration of the cotton plant and hence of slavery into the up-country between 1800 and 1830 caused the Tidewater to treat the up-country more liberally and the antagonism between them had been considerably lessened before the Civil War broke.

A like sectionalism showed itself in Prussia in the two decades before the World War. The tremendous shifts of population which accompanied the growth of cities in Germany after 1860 caused some districts to become virtually "rotten boroughs," while the rapidly growing industrial centers had an inadequate represen-

tation in the Prussian Landtag. Hence the political weight of the eastern agricultural provinces of Prussia surpassed that of the industrial west and the Junkers were able to carry out their policy of extreme protection of the agricultural interests at the expense of the working class.

The rise of ill will between the parts of a country growing at unequal pace can be forestalled by accepting frankly the principle of equal representation of equal numbers. The apportionment of representatives should not be fixed in the constitution but should be revised at every census. It may well be that the inhabitants of a fast growing section are on the whole more ignorant, backward or godless than those of the older section, but it is dangerous to make such an assumption the basis for denying them equal representation. Not only will the new population become aggrieved, but it is a fact that generally such an assumption has been worked in order to strengthen the position of prop-

erty in the state and weaken that of men.

Not only should representation in the legislature be apportioned fairly as between sections but in appointing supreme court justices, members of the cabinet, ministers, ambassadors, army and navy officers and other officials, no section should be overlooked. On the other hand, such appointments should not be regarded as "plums" to be shared among the sections. Representation in party conventions should be likewise based on the principle of equal value of voters.

2. *Proportional Sharing of the Benefits of Government.* No section properly qualified and entitled to it should miss its due share of internal improvements, tariff protection for its special industries, public institutions, public buildings, Federal Reserve centers, experiment stations, army camps, navy yards, aviation fields, postal facilities and national forests. Of course this maxim does not justify setting up the "pork barrel," or maintaining naval sta-

tions in harbors too shallow to admit war vessels of the latest type. Nor does it forbid heavy outlay to carry the mails through snowdrifts to small, remote mountain settlements or the creation of health stations in districts suffering from hookworm, pellagra, trachoma, or malaria.

3. *Proportional Sharing of the Burdens of Government.* The South resented a high tariff which obliged it to pay more for its goods in order to stimulate the manufacturing industries of New England and Pennsylvania. Under Wilson there was outcry by some Northern newspapers that the federal income and inheritance taxes are collected mostly in the North. In fact, this is just, for that is where the incomes and fortunes are. Still, no section should be treated as "a prey and pastime" of the rest. The farmers of upland Virginia resented that their calves and colts were assessed for taxation, while the lowland planters' slaves were ignored by the assessor until they reached the age of twelve years. The Whiskey Rebellion of

1798 originated in the peculiar burdensomeness of the federal tax on spirits to the people west of the Alleghanies who concentrated their corn into whiskey in order to carry it to a remote market. The "regulator" movement in the hill counties of colonial North Carolina had its cause in the extortion of fees officials were demanding for drawing up or recording necessary legal instruments.

4. *The Sectional Bearing of Legislation has to be Considered.* Problems of trust regulation, free silver, banking, protective tariff and devices to secure popular government have all led to sectional oppositions. National policy respecting the disposal of public lands has had the same effect. The cheap money-hard money issue brought on strife between sections, for the frontier could ill afford to tie up much of its scanty capital in a specie medium of exchange. If we wish to avoid sectionalism, we ought to foresee that the Burlingame treaty with China will rouse the Pacific Coast; that the Eighteenth

Amendment will result in pitting East against West; that federal interference with lynching will solidify the South in opposition. At times it may be necessary to enact in the national interest a law or policy which works a peculiar hardship to one section. Generally it is possible to appease this section with some other law or policy which brings it benefit.

5. *People of Each Section should be Willing to Listen to Qualified Spokesmen for Other Sections.* In 1870 Professor Bryce had doubts as to the ultimate healing of the wounds of the Civil War. Fifty-two years later President Harding exulted at the complete disappearance of the old North-South sectionalism. To this happy consummation contributed men like Senator Lamar whose oration on Charles Sumner in 1874 moved Congress to tears; Henry W. Grady of the Atlanta *Constitution*, who interpreted the New South to representative New England audiences; historians who, with impartial scholarship, traced the causes and course of the

Civil War. Among the landmarks in the process of reconciliation were the annual meeting of the governors of the states to consider not sectional matters but common national interests, the removal of all discriminations against former Confederate officers at the outbreak of our War with Spain, and the return by Congress, without a dissenting vote, of the Confederate battleflags.

There is no avoiding oppositions of interest between sections, but at least it is possible to avert misunderstanding. The feelings and wishes of a self-conscious section should be voiced not only in Congress, but before all manner of influential bodies. Whenever in any section a representative man meets with wide approval in voicing a sentiment of grievance for his section, that man should be invited before gatherings of men of light and leading in other parts of the country. Before chambers of commerce, merchants' associations, bankers' associations, farmers' congresses, labor conventions, church

conferences and university audiences, the spokesman of a section should have opportunity to vent its wrongs, real or imaginary. Likewise the outstanding periodicals should acquaint their readers with the most authoritative and well pondered expressions of sectional feeling.

It would be well if each section had in it men who embodied the culture and voiced the views of other sections. It is fortunate that, if there is a vacant chair in the faculty of a higher institution of learning, the best man available is called, irrespective of whether or not he "belongs" to the state or section. Hence, our colleges and universities are usually foci of national feeling. Excellent, likewise, is the practice of city school boards offering the headship of their schools to the best man in sight, no matter where he hails from. City managers are not required to be local men, and the time may come when the experts in the service of cities or states will be brought together from all parts of the union.

Sectionalism based on special sectional interest will not vanish from our midst; but at least we may be free from the sectionalism born of isolation, misunderstanding, prejudice and pride. Then, if leaders are wise, the sectionalism of interest can be kept within bounds. In the words of Professor Turner:

> It is a statesman's duty and his great opportunity to lift his section to a higher and broader, a more far-seeing conception of its interests as a part of the Union, to induce his section to accept the compromises and adjustments which he arranges with the leaders of other sections in the spirit of reconciliation of interests in the nation as a whole. He must be at once the section's spokesman, its negotiator and its enlightened guide, loyal to the nation as a whole.

CHAPTER II

THE QUENCHING OF SECTARIAN STRIFE

One of the most cheering developments of the modern epoch is the general abandonment of the conviction that one wins God's favor by extirpating those of alien faiths. What rivers of blood have run because God was conceived of as a "jealous" Being to whom the worship of another, or worship of Himself under other than His true name, is an affront! Both Judeo-Christianity and Islam, being monotheistic, have intolerance in their marrow. The ferocious religious wars which lacerated Europe, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, testified to the possibilities of reciprocal extermination which lurked in the non-toleration of religious differences. There is, indeed, no limit to the torment the human race may inflict upon itself if it follows *that* path.

Hence, there reigns among the discerning ones, a tacit agreement to dwell in peace with those of other faiths and overlook religious difference in all civil relations. This understanding might almost serve as a touchstone of true Americanism. In most of us dread of sectarian strife is so ingrained that we shun as a leper the fool who sounds the old jarring tocsin that God is displeased at some people's beliefs and observances and will be grateful if His true followers spare Him this displeasure. Today most ministers of religion realize their solemn obligation to tread warily among the lightly slumbering hyenas of religious bigotry and he who stirs the passions which made men slay their fellows in the name of Jesus is looked upon as the thrower of a poison gas bomb.

There is no scourge of society worse than strife over religion, for it is the elite who are decimated. The coarser natures, the sensualists, take small heed of religion and reck little how others worship. It is the idealists, whose care is for the spirit-

ual, who become frenzied at the spectacle of another man's heterodoxy. When a church backed by the state demands that man conform or rot in jail, the grosser sort say, "Oh, very well!" It is only the nobler who will suffer loss or exile rather than give up an ideal. This is why the English Puritans and the French Huguenots, who sought the American wilderness rather than be dictated to in the matter of religion, provided a superior breed which has run bright threads down through American history.

Unless they are using religion as a cloak for exploitation or lust of power, the persecutors, likewise, are far above the rabble in their concern for doctrine; so, if their heads are broken, the human stock is so much the poorer. Hence, as a means of eliminating the idealistic strains and leaving the fatheads and belly-worshipers to be the master breeds, nothing can surpass bloody religious strife.

Again, most other social oppositions fade and soften with the lapse of time.

The quarrel somehow settles itself or it drifts out of the focus of vision as new interests call for new alignments. Not so is it with religious opposition. If today God is angry that we tolerate those who worship Him in different ways, He will be just as angry tomorrow—or the next day —or the day after. Then, too, there is no other form of strife in which the strivers do not feel at liberty to compromise when the struggle is seen to cost them more than victory can bring. Sectaries, however, imagining themselves under the eye of their God, dare not compromise lest they incur God's disfavor. So they go on helplessly like fighting stags whose horns have become locked.

Nothing has contributed more to the cause of social peace than the American discovery that religion does not languish if it ceases to be supported and guided by the state. In Europe the refusal of the civil power to accept any responsibility for the protection and maintenance of religion has generally been interpreted as

betokening an indifference as to what may befall the spiritual interests of the people. A state recognizing no form of religion is called "godless"; while the disestablishment of a state church is branded as an "act of national impiety." American experience proves that such epithets are undeserved. Not only does religion flourish better here than in countries with a state church, but European visitors find no churchman on this side the water who wishes the state to reassume the care of religion. De Tocqueville testifies:

> I do not hesitate to affirm that during my stay in America I did not meet with a single individual, of the clergy or the laity, who was not of the same opinion on this point.

Münsterberg observes:

> While society remains indifferent as long as religion is enforced by external means, it becomes energetic as soon as it feels itself responsible for the general religious situation. . . . A religiously inclined population which has made churchliness a social and not a political obligation, affords the American church the most favorable conditions for its success that could be imagined.

One might suppose that the neglect to sanction and sustain some nobler form of faith would handicap it in rivalry with the gross or benighted forms. When a minister of religion has nothing to live on but the free-will offerings of the faithful, will not the representative of an enlightened and social faith be at a disadvantage among us in competing with the propagators of ignorant and fanatical varieties of religion? Just this has occurred in certain backward parts of this country. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century more silly sects were spawned in the United States than in any other part of the world, save only Russia. The one thing which finally checked the multiplication among us of cranky sects, at odds with the spirit of Christianity and with the real welfare of society, has been the immense development of public instruction. It is not long after the state disestablishes the church before it resolves to establish the school. A state which should do nothing for either church or

school would soon find the bulk of its people too little socialized to meet their responsibilities as citizens.

When religion ceases to be supported by revenues from endowments or the proceeds of taxation, but must depend upon the gifts of parishioners, it has to submit to a process of democratization. Where the constitution of the church is elastic, the laity share more in the control of the church. Where this is fixed, the clergy are obliged to consider more the wishes and feelings of their flock, to persuade rather than command. Then, too, religion is obliged to become simple and graspable. De Tocqueville says:

> I have seen no country in which Christianity is clothed with fewer forms, figures and observances than in the United States; or where it presents more distinct, more simple, or more general notions to the mind.
>
> There are no Romish priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances, for extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, or who cling more to the spirit and less to the letter of the law, than the Roman Catholic priests of the United States.

The participation of the congregation in worship is emphasized. In an endowed or state-supported church often you find elaborate and beautiful services being conducted, although scarcely any are present save the officiating clergy. The absence of the faithful makes no difference for, after all, God is being glorified and propitiated. The people, on the other hand, are loath to pay for a worship in which they have no voice nor part. The Divine services they support will be valued less for themselves than for their efficacy in stirring an emotion of adoration in the worshiper. For the same reason the costly adornment of the sanctuary is less prized, for the human heart is regarded as the real seat of worship rather than a sanctified place before a sacred altar.

In the state-supported church the clergyman's whole duty may consist in the performance of the religious rites on appointed occasions. But in the church dependent on the free-will offerings of the

members, he does not come off so easily. His sacerdotal functions shrivel, but he is much more occupied in giving the parishioner solace, counsel or instruction. The pastor becomes a combination of priest, public teacher, personal counselor and social worker.

Finally, a people-supported religion is likely to exhibit a practical spirit. A decade ago, a French visitor, De Constant, was much impressed with this aspect of American religion. "It concerns itself with the present and especially with the future—the future of humanity." "It exalts everything that strengthens courage, confidence, self-sacrifice and initiative." He quotes Bishop Philips Brooks as saying: "The mystery of the Holy Trinity appears insignificant in comparison with the enormous amount of moral and social work to be done by the American churches. Let every one enjoy his liberty and his own beliefs; the essential thing is what the church can do for its neighbors and the country."

The complete separation of church and state implies:

a. Freedom of religious belief and the free exercise of worship within the limits of morality and public order.

b. No religious test to be imposed for naturalization, voting, office-holding or jury duty.

c. No one may have his civil or political rights abridged by ecclesiastical provisions, nor may religious views absolve one from the performance of his civil duties.

d. No recognition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

e. No public money to be devoted to the support of religion.

f. Cemeteries to be controlled by the municipality rather than the church.

g. No indoctrination or obligatory participation in worship in public schools or state educational institutions.

h. Ministers not to make the exercise of citizen functions a matter of con-

science, or threaten spiritual penalties for one's political activity.

Most of this program was early realized in this country and of late it has been spreading rapidly over Christendom. What the English clergyman and essayist, Sydney Smith, thought about this American innovation a century ago is worth recording:

> It is hardly possible for any nation to show a greater superiority over another than the Americans, in this particular, have done over this country. They have fairly and completely, and probably for ever, extinguished that spirit of religious persecution which has been the employment and curse of mankind for four or five centuries—not only that persecution which imprisons and scourges for religious opinions, but the tyranny of incapacitation, which, by disqualifying from civil offices, and cutting a man off from the lawful objects of ambition, endeavors to strangle religious freedom in silence, and to enjoy all the advantages, without the blood, and noise, and fire, of persecution. What passes in the mind of one mean blockhead is a general history of all persecution. "This man pretends to know better than me—I cannot subdue him by argument; but I will take care he shall never be mayor or alderman of the town in which he lives; I will never consent to the

repeal of the Test Act or to Catholic Emancipation: I will teach the fellow to differ from me in religious opinions!" So says the Episcopalian to the Catholic—and so the Catholic says to the Protestant. But the wisdom of America keeps them all down—secures to them all their just rights—gives to each of them their separate pews, and bells, and steeples—makes them all aldermen in their turn, and quietly extinguishes the faggots which each is preparing for the combustion of the other. Nor is this indifference to religious subjects in the American people, but pure civilization—through comprehension of what is best calculated to secure the public happiness and peace—and determination that this happiness and peace shall not be violated by the insolence of any human being, in the garb and under the sanction of religion.

What embitterment we missed by the early separation of church and state may be guessed from certain laws found necessary in countries which have disestablished the Roman Catholic Church. In France, according to the Law of Separation of 1905, buildings used for worship belong to the public; no political meeting may be held in a church; no religious sign or emblem may be fixed on public monu-

ments or in any public place save buildings used for worship, cemeteries, and monuments of the dead. The clergyman is prosecuted who, in a place of worship, insults or defames a public official, or who incites to resist the execution of the law or the legal acts of public authorities, or tends to arouse or arm one section of the citizens against the others.

In Mexico in the Laws of Reform and the Constitution of 1857 one finds:

The suppression of monasteries and the nationalization of their property.

Prohibition of novices' taking the veil.

Abolition of religious holidays, save those specified by law.

The ringing of church bells to be subject to local ordinances.

By the Constitution of 1917, the church is forbidden:

To own real estate or mortgages on same.

To own church buildings or any other buildings.

To possess invested funds or other productive property.

To maintain convents or nunneries.

To conduct primary schools.

To direct or administer charitable institutions.

To solicit funds for its support outside of church buildings.

To hold religious ceremonies outside of church buildings.

To clothe its ministers with a garb indicative of their calling.

Ministers of religion may not publicly criticize the government or officials. They may not vote, hold office, or assemble for political purposes. No political assembly may be held in a place of public worship. No political party may bear a name indicative of relation to any religious belief. No religious periodical may comment on political affairs. No studies carried on in theological seminaries may be credited in a state university. Official permission must be obtained before open-

ing a new temple of worship for public use.

These gyves are not wanton and persecutive, but are means found necessary for freeing the state and political life from clerical meddling. We dispense with such drastic measures in this country only because here the distinctness of church and state is understood and accepted by all.

MEANS OF AVOIDING SECTARIAN STRIFE

Various policies suggest themselves for safe-guarding and perfecting religious peace.

1. Neither churches nor groups formed on a religious basis should endeavor secretly to control political parties, nominations, elections, appointments, or public policies. If a church feels justified in supporting a man or a measure, let it do so openly and avow its real motives.

2. In matters political or civic one's religious convictions or church affiliations should be neither asset nor liability. They ought, in fact, to have no weight at all.

Gratuitous allusion to them should be resented as injection of a foreign issue.

3. Clergymen should beware of preaching a political sermon under the pretext that the issue is between simple right and wrong.

4. Charter provisions as to the church affiliation of the members of the governing board of a private educational, research, philanthropic, or civic institution are to be deplored. An instance is the former requirement that not less than two-thirds of the trustees of the University of Chicago should be Baptists.

5. It is bad policy for church members to throw their custom, their patronage or their votes to the merchant, professional man or candidate who is their fellow member. Other churches will follow suit and soon the community will be split along sectarian lines. The fewer the social, political, commercial, or professional advantages church membership bestows and the greater the spiritual advantages,

the better will be the feeling among the churches.

6. The churches should have a tacit agreement not to regard one another's membership as a pasture for proselyting.

7. The churches should avail themselves of every opportunity for public coöperation in moral, civic and social-welfare movements.

8. Now that there is a wholesome tendency to exalt life above ritual and character above creed, those who revive and stress points of doctrinal difference among the churches instead of emphasizing their common treasure, should be sent to the rear.

9. Clergymen who insist that their church shall have its own distinct newspapers, schools, social centers, recreation centers, charitable societies, lecture courses, boy scouts and factory welfare work and who forbid their members sharing in community undertakings along these lines are contributing to segregate

people by religion and to delay the advent of civic consciousness and loyalty.

10. There should be dissemination of the study of the greater religions of the world as expressions of the religious impulse in the human heart. Such study, disclosing that each religion speaks to its adherents with the same tone of authority, would break down that "absoluteness" from which spring fanaticism and intolerance.

While religious liberty is as settled in America as anything can be, we may see strife spring up over the relation of church and state to education. It is not in the field of middle or higher education that the tension will arise. In this country church colleges led the way and the state university was an after thought. Academies and church schools were in the field before the public high school became a power. But the public school was here before the church elementary school and one wonders what is the motive of the new policy of withdrawing the children of

communicants from the public school and impounding them in the parish school.

Religious people are quite justified in objecting to an elementary education so bare of religion as that of the public school must be. The remedy is to set aside week-day periods during which the pupils of the community school may go to appointed places and receive religious instruction according to the wishes of their parents. Until this is provided for one can understand why many devout parents prefer the separate school with its emphasis on religion.

But this denies the civil organization access to the budding mind. The modern democratic state is very far from being a mere coercive organization. To procure respect for its laws it puts its trust in civic attitude rather than in fear. By bringing the young under appropriate training in the public school it aims to *socialize* its future citizens. Now, if the children know no other schooling than that of the church, the democratic state

misses all opportunity to build citizenship into them. The church is free to mould at will the sprouting conscience and to teach the child always to put her claims above those of the state, although the latter is the organ of the whole society.

Again, segregation all through the formative years with those of its own faith in school and on playground is a poor foundation for a citizenship which shall respect the equal rights of fellow citizens of other faith or no faith, recognize generously their virtues, and coöperate with them freely in every department of life save only that of religion. Separate church schooling has in store for us not the good will and fraternal spirit of the better type of American community but the old-world mutual suspicion and aloofness such as you find it in Trans-Caucasia where the life streams of Georgians, Armenians, Germans and Tartars flow side by side without mingling.

If the segregating of two and one quarter million children in church schools is a

civic blight, it does not follow that the American state should imitate Oregon in disallowing the private school. There is a chance that a satisfactory division of the child's time between public school and church school may be worked out. It may be that nothing should be attempted now, but that anxious patriots should trust the matter to be corrected by a change of sentiment within the religious bodies responsible for setting up the parochial school. As the public school is bettered and as ample opportunity is offered to impart religious instruction to the children enrolled in it, perhaps the will of the American Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Adventists to maintain separate schools will crumble away.

CHAPTER III

THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG NATIONALITIES

No modern people, save only the Argentines, have absorbed so large a proportion of aliens as the people of the United States. In seventy years no doubt thirty millions of aliens cast in their lot with us. At the outbreak of the World War, not less than a sixth of the population of this country were foreign-born and three-eighths were foreign-born, or of foreign parentage. During the first fourteen years of this century thirteen millions of strangers passed through our gates.

The failure to control immigration and to hold it down to a flow of aliens which this country could assimilate without injury to its ideals and institutions is, in my judgment, the greatest mistake our government has committed within our time. President Cleveland's veto of the immi-

gration restriction bill of 1893 was one of the most disastrous actions ever taken by an American president. As we look back on the vetoes of President Taft and President Wilson, we are shocked at their want of statesmanship.

The injury suffered by America has not come from an essential inferiority of the immigrants in respect to race fibre, but from their being unfamiliar with our language and institutions and ignorant of how to keep from being exploited economically and politically. It is particularly "the newer immigration", coming from southern and southeastern Europe, which has lacked the background of culture and experience needed for working our institutions.

Not only have the newly naturalized citizens been duped and used by saloon and foreign-language newspaper and the local political machine secretly working on behalf of the vice interests and the corporation interests, but even when they have voted their honest opinions, they

have roiled our politics and made fine fishing for the crooked politicians. When a people has reached such a stage of political likemindedness that much can be taken for granted, it is free to address itself to new questions as they come up. But if it admits to citizenship myriads of strangers, who have only the rudimentary notions of American political principles, questions supposed to be settled are reopened. The citizens are obliged to thrash over again old straw—the relation of church and state, of church to school, of state to parent, of law to the liquor trade. Meanwhile, ripe sheaves ready to yield the wheat of wisdom under the flails of discussion, lie untouched. Pressing questions—public hygiene, conservation, the control of monopoly, the protection of labor, child welfare—go to the foot of the docket and public interests suffer.

The little handful of sociologists who withstood the sentimentalists and humanitarians that dominated public opinion up to the outbreak of the World War may be

pardoned for indulging themselves in the luxury of saying, "I told you so." We warned the optimists who imagined that assimilation of the immigrant was proceeding unhindered, that they were living in a fool's paradise. Well, the reaction of many of our citizenship of foreign extraction to the World War showed that we were absolutely right. Enemy aliens cropped up in numbers among the American-born children of immigrants. In the hearts of naturalized citizens old stirrings were to be noted and yearnings to plunge into the world struggle not as Americans, but as Jugo-Slavs or Lithuanians, or Czecho-Slovaks. Strong racial groups in this country split into factions arrayed one against another. Heads were broken and blood was shed in American streets because of hatreds born centuries ago and thousands of miles away. While a few idealists had beguiled our people with pictures of a magical assimilation supposed to be going on, the steamship companies and the mine bosses had rushed

into this country millions of job-seekers to whom it was not a home, but merely a huge polyglot boarding house. We were heading to become, in the words of Roosevelt:

> A tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with other citizens of the American Republic.

These disconcerting revelations of how weak had become the binder in our composite population prompted an Americanization movement foredoomed to failure because it flew in the face of social psychology. Any sociologist could have told its sponsors that the desired change of heart in the stranger is not to be brought about by preaching and propaganda. The only Americanization which amounts to much is spontaneous and unconscious, "cometh not with observation." The one element of solid value in the American-

ization movement was the wider teaching of the English language to adults. The logical conclusion from the war time revelations of what a hodge-podge we had allowed ourselves to become, was not the need of an Americanization program, but the necessity of shutting down firmly on the inflow of aliens. Fortunately the plain people have drawn the right inference and have not been misled by the hurrah about Americanization.

The United States affords the most striking example in all history of a rapid assimilation of aliens of extremely diverse origin. Although the process of assimilation was by no means so automatic and thorough as it had been supposed to be, it was indeed a wonderful social phenomenon. Among those immigrants who got out upon the land, there to intermingle with native Americans and settlers of other racial stocks, the process of denationalization and the building up the soul of a patriotic American was as remarkable a spiritual transformation as our time has witnessed.

The secret of our marvelous success in assimilating the immigrant who plunged into the thick of American life instead of swinging round and round in some eddy like a Ghetto or Little Italy or Little Hungary, has been certain social principles which have governed our dealing with the foreign-born.

1. *Toleration.* The American people have left the alien free to speak his mother tongue, follow his folk customs, forgather with those of his own race, form his own church or lodge and amuse himself as he likes. There has been no persecution of Old-World ways which might arouse resentment and racial self-assertion.

2. *Individualism.* The summons of American democracy to the bent victim of Old-World oppressions, "Stand up like a man"! has an electrifying effect upon him. It heartens him to defy the bidding of priest, rabbi and *padrone* and follow his own will.

3. *The Worship of Progress.* Custom-bound, the immigrant finds himself

among a people who rail at the "good old times" and have small reverence for the past. He is taught that not only nearly everything that makes him safe and comfortable is of recent origin, but that whatever is will someday be surpassed. We bid "Americans by choice" to forget their pasts so filled with the roots of dividing prejudices and hatreds, and lift their eyes to the Future, which together we are building.

4. *Liberality in the Bestowal of the Franchise.* Naturalization sets in motion strong Americanizing forces. Once Josef has a vote, he finds himself an object of interest. People try to "talk him over." He is invited to join this, or walk in that parade, all because of that atom of political power which has been bestowed upon him. Voting, owing to the knowledge it demands, the interest it excites and the responsibility it involves, is quite magical in bringing men of different nationalities into a common plane.

5. *Insistence upon Education of the*

Young. Tolerant as America is, on one point she insists, "Dress as you please, speak what you please, worship as you please, but you *must* let us teach your children." Thus we gently detach the young from their parental matrix and make them our accomplices in Americanizing their parents.

While these principles, coupled with the distribution of the richest public domain ever carved up, accomplished wonders, the perplexities of the present and the future call for reconsideration of the whole problem of preserving peace among diverse nationalities intermingled in the same society. I suggest, therefore, the following:

MEANS OF AVOIDING NATIONALITY CONFLICTS

1. We should concentrate all the discrimination we intend to practice on the alien at our ports of entry. No one should be allowed to come in whose intellectual, moral or cultural deficiencies are such that we are unwilling to extend him cit-

izenship in due time. Admission should imply that we are willing to become fellow citizens and fellow partisans with this man; accord him equal rights and privileges in the ownership and disposition of property, in engaging in business, in taxation, in school facilities and the like. We cannot afford to have among us foreign-born forever excluded from the civic life of America. No one should feel that he can never have a share in the great spiritual adventure we are making together. Every alien hopelessly "out" of it would be a weak spot in American society. For him our "democracy" would be pretty much a lie. No one, then, should be allowed to settle in this country whom we are unwilling to treat as "one of the family." If the privilege of naturalization is denied to members of the Mongolian race, then it is bad policy to admit members of that race to our midst.

2. We have one race question for which no solution is in sight and we do not need another. Therefore, our doors should not

stand open to immigrants of a race so visibly distinct from ours that there is likely to be a color bar to intermarriage. We know only too well what goes with such a taboo. It implies a growth of caste; a color line extending further and further through social groupings and relationships; the production of emotions and attitudes which flagrantly contradict the democratic spirit. The ordinary American may hold his nose in the air as the frowzy immigrant comes down the gangplank and reflect, "Not for worlds would I have my child marry his child." Such social prejudice is natural and we must reconcile ourselves to its existence, but it is no granite wall. The native may resign himself to contemplating the immigrant's grandchild marrying his grandchild, or the immigrant's great-grandchild marrying his great-grandchild. If he cannot, then it is not *social prejudice* we confront, but race *antipathy*, which is a far more durable barrier.

This is why I oppose the admission to

this country of members of the yellow or brown or black races. I do not take the position that they are inferior to the whites. Besides being invidious and offensive such a position would be impossible to sustain with data truly scientific. My contention is that we are trying to realize in this country a genial, fraternal and beneficent social system known as "democracy," the spirit of which is incompatible with the existence of color lines. Sad experience makes us resolve not to have any more color lines than we are already afflicted with. It is as plain to us as the black and white squares on a checkerboard that if we admit many members of the color races, there will be a speedy development of collective race antipathy, which will make the amalgamation of these elements with ourselves illegal and infamous. Instead of commingling and disappearing as we move down-stream in the way that distinct nationality currents tend to commingle and disappear from American life, these

racial elements, prevented from commingling by the color line, will plague and weaken our posterity as much as they plague and weaken us.

3. The more we broad-mindedly tolerate in the foreign-born their ancestral speech and ways, their foreign-language churches, societies, lodges and newspapers, their festivities and celebrations, national, religious and cultural—and by "tolerate" I mean not only that we suffer these things but that we do not even belittle or ridicule them—the more energetically should we insist that the children of the foreign-born shall attend a public school or at least a school conducted in the English language. It is a burning shame that at present American-born children are leaving church elementary foreign-language schools not only unable to read and write English, but scarcely able to understand or speak it. That we should permit native Americans to receive all the schooling they will ever get in a foreign language is the pinnacle of imbecile amiability.

4. Once the immigrant is naturalized, he should not be discriminated against as a citizen. It would be unAmerican to have two grades of citizens, one the native-born, privileged and preferred, the other, the foreign-born, viewed askance and mistrusted. There will be the best conditions for the growth of good fellowship and patriotism if nativity or nationality is made neither an asset nor a liability in politics. The ideal is that a man's origin should weigh not at all but that we should favor or oppose him solely on the ground of his intelligence, personal character and what he stands for. The old practice of putting one man on the party ticket to capture the Scandinavian vote, another to line up the Poles, etc., without heed to their fitness, is thoroughly bad. Equally improper is it for a man's friends to urge him for office on nationality grounds and for his opponents to make capital against him on the same grounds.

5. If native Americans are going to "play the game" in the way I have recom-

mended, the foreign-born should meet them half way. Nationalistic bodies should make no endeavor secretly to control parties, nominations, elections or appointments. If they make an open attempt, it will, of course, recoil upon their heads. On the other hand, it is quite legitimate for them openly to seek or oppose specific legislation or action which obviously concerns them.

6. As part of the program of welding the heterogeneous elements here into one people I would suggest that news items about vice and crime should not indicate the group membership of the culprit unless his group is making an effort to shield him from exposure or punishment. On the other hand, good will and rivalry in well-doing will be stimulated if in news items about commendable deeds, or signal public services or generous donations the fact is indicated that the individual was former member of the Czech National Council or is Chevalier of the Order of Gustavus Vasa.

7. All our vows to tolerate unlikeness in our midst become chaff as the amount of unlikeness becomes so great as to make dubious the preservation of prized elements in our nationality. The alien land laws of California and Arizona are a sure sign that too many Japanese have been admitted to the United States. The spread of a secret organization, the Ku Klux Klan, chiefly intended to hold in check Jews and Catholics, is a clear indication that the federal government left the gates open too long. Had immigration been sharply restricted a dozen years ago, this nativist reaction to foreign elements would not have occurred. It is idle to wring our hands or scold at this tendency of our population to draw apart into ethnic groups. It is precisely what will occur in any society under similar circumstances. It is the inevitable penalty of past folly. It is idle to preach against the alarming growth of internal conflict in this country. What we must do is shut down hard on immigration, develop a

rational school policy and trust to the natural processes of assimilation to allay the concern felt as to our national future. In proportion as Americanization goes forward the native element will feel less called upon to mount guard.

8. It is literally true that great numbers of the foreign-born are not *in* America, but *under* it. They may live here for years without one kind word or friendly hand expressing the good will which really lies behind our institutions. In a study, "The Russian Immigrant," Prof. Jerome Davis draws out what Russian workmen and priests think of the spirit of America. Their answers are surprisingly alike:

"No heart in American life."
"Busy and business."
"Each help self."
"Rich man's land."
"Money."
"Love of self."
"There is no sympathy here."

One priest in order to illustrate his conception of America went to the door and pointing to the mountain of coal dust and cinders at the mouth of the mine nearby said, "That is the heart of America."

Some expressed the conviction that America for them at least was bad.

"If money in pocket Americans like you, if not don't care and swear at you."

"America place like heaven for rich, but like hell for foreign worker."

"As a wild animal or bird in a cage, so lives the Russian here."

"America is not free for the workers. They are beasts like horses."

After his varied experience as a laborer, Mr. Whiting Williams testifies: "The relation between the large employer and, for the most part, the foreign-born and foreign-speaking worker in the labor gangs is expressed by the phrase of the workers: 'Aw, w'at da hell! w'at da hell da companee care 'bout us?" He says further: "The gang bosses, at least those of the labor gangs, seem to be the worst examples of what-the-hell philosophy."

Prof. Davis asked each of nearly one hundred and fifty Russians arrested at different points in the 1919-1920 drive of the U. S. Department of Justice whether during his stay in America he had ever

met any American who had helped him. Only five had ever received such aid. On the other hand, every one of them had met many who had cursed them, foremen who had called them "Russian swine," bosses who were continually swearing at them. America, according to their stories, had been for the most part one constant struggle against adverse industrial conditions and exploitation. The former head of the Russian work of the Y. M. C. A. in America, after speaking in the various Russian colonies, says: "At practically every place I have visited, I have been hailed as one of the first Americans to come to him (the Russian) extending a friendly hand. Sometimes he has shed tears, while occasionally he has cursed America, and included me along with her." No wonder Colonel Roosevelt said publicly in 1915, "We cannot afford to continue to use hundreds of thousands of immigrants merely as industrial assets while they remain social outcasts and menaces." And the eminent Jewish leader

Rabbi Wise is absolutely right when he says: "I would have America either shut foreigners out or take them in, not leave them dangling in spirit at our door, physically admitted to but spiritually excluded from, the life of the Republic."

No wonder the publication, *Americanization*, of the United States Department of Education, asks:

> What should be said of a world-leading democracy wherein ten percent of the adult population cannot read the laws which they are presumed to know?
>
> What should be said of a democracy which sends an army to preach democracy wherein there were drafted out of the first two million men a total of two hundred thousand men who could not read their orders or understand them when delivered?
>
> What should be said of a democracy which permits men and women to work in masses where they seldom or never hear a word of English spoken?

One remedy is for the local school system to accept it as a part of its job to make contact with the non-English-speaking immigrants and to form adult

evening classes for the study of English and citizenship. Some propose a law prohibiting manufacturers from employing any alien unable to read and write English unless the manufacturer establishes in his plant on company time a class of such aliens under the direction of the local board of education.

Owing to their ignorance and misunderstanding many immigrants are so outrageously exploited that there ought to be a city, state or federal information bureau for aliens in each important center of the foreign-born. One of its prime functions would be to assist the alien in the assertion of his legal rights. Hon. Charles Hughes, in stressing the work of the New York Legal Aid Society of which he was president, declared that "it promotes respect for American justice among those who are least familiar with our institutions." No doubt multitudes of aliens become embittered against the country which allows them to suffer injustice without putting them in the way of securing redress.

Splendid work has been done by private organizations such as the Immigrants' Protective League. When the flood of immigration was at its height, there was a feeling of hopelessness at the myriad injustices and impositions of which immigrants were victims. Moreover, there was a certain irritation at the crowding in of aliens who could but lower the standard of living of those native groups with whom they came into competition. It may be, however, that once the inflow is firmly held down to a quarter or a fifth of the pre-war figure, social-minded people will unite to extend help in order to save the immigrant from being disillusioned and alienated by the suffering of unredressed wrongs.

CHAPTER IV

THE MITIGATION OF CLASS STRUGGLE

In most societies there is a cleavage between families possessing permanent sources of large income which relieve them forever from the necessity of working for a living—the leisure class—and the rest of the population. The never-works strive to brand the active producing people as inferior to themselves. In Europe feudal traditions and the aftermath of ancient conquests have left on manual labor a deep stigma which is only slowly being bleached out. Even down into this age of mechanical warfare the nobility retain something of glamour from the time when they were warriors and inheritors of the baton of military command. The new rich, whose wealth rests on modern industrial bases, do their utmost to assimilate themselves to the old

nobility and thereby enter into its heritage of social prestige.

In the United States the stigma on labor has come to be fainter than it has ever been in any rich society. Among the manly and intelligent, whatever their lot in life, there is level speech and a readiness to fraternize in all save conventional situations. In our laws and institutions no class is awarded any recognition or privilege. In access to appointive offices and in immunity from prosecution for law-breaking there are very real privileges to be enjoyed by the shrewd exercise of the power of wealth; but the American people have never countenanced or ratified them, nor is there prospect of their doing so.

Nevertheless, sections of the wealthy leisure class scheme and plot continually to get themselves looked up to as social superiors and brand with inferiority the rest of society, particularly the workers. For supporting their claim to be superior they have a whole arsenal of tactics.

Thanks to their deep purses, they avail themselves of everything clothes can do to hide commonness and transfigure the wearer. With the aid of architects and artists and decorators they provide themselves with noble and splendid backgrounds which deeply impress simple folk. They try to eliminate their not-rich competitors for social prestige by setting up certain reputable expenditures as sure touchstones of social worth. Thanks to their ownership of or influence in the newspapers they obtain much glorifying publicity for their doings, poses and diversions. Seeking to shine by reflected light they snuggle close to all who have social prestige in their own right, such as captains of industry, lofty prelates, high officials, the headmen in the professions, renowned scientists, writers, artists and explorers. They maneuver themselves into ornamental and ceremonial posts, such as those of the diplomatic service. They have their children educated in snobbish and exclusive schools, where

conviction of the superiority of their class will become a second nature. They marry their daughters to the scions of impoverished European noble families. So far as possible they create about themselves the atmosphere of the aristocracies of other times—the French noblesse, the English lords, the German Junkers, the Southern slave-holding planters.

Nevertheless, for all their tricks and shifts to get themselves taken seriously as were the earlier leisure classes, theirs is an uphill fight. The tide of the times is against them. The spirit of democracy is their poison gas. They have no special place in the social constitution as the feudal lords did. They have no monopoly of the higher and more dignified places, as a European country gentleman had. Politically they are so weak that often they are mortified to see their cause or their candidate voted down with loud guffaws by the horny handed. The army, navy and diplomatic service have not been set aside as their sacred preserve, as

used to be the case in Europe. We have no state church in which their sons may rise to be dignitaries, no dependencies in which the ambitious sons of the rich may have a proconsular career. The widening application of mental tests to the young discloses that the sons and daughters of the wealthy, despite their imposing background and costly tutoring, include about the normal contingent of blockheads. Moreover, the "literature of exposure" has exhibited to the gaze of all the oozy foundations of fraud, chicane and crime on which rest not a few lordly fortunes.

On the other hand, with the majestic inevitability of the advance of a glacier, the manual laboring class are gaining self-respect and social weight. More and more the workers are schooled, read, learn, think, discuss, arrive at worth while opinions. They know too much about Dives and how he got his millions to take him always at his own valuation. With the dissemination of soap, underclothing, bathtubs, safety razors, nail scissors,

SCHOOL OF

tooth brushes, dentistry and self respect among the wage earners, the age-old association of manual labor with sweat, grime, bad odors, ill-kept teeth, unshaven faces and dirty clothes is dissolved and there emerge types like the well-groomed young electrician which the casual eye cannot distinguish from the polo player. The universal diffusion of civil rights, the ballot and access to office raises the social prestige of the workers. Veblen's demonstration that many of the current accepted standards of truth, rightness, propriety and beauty are of never-work origin and intended to discredit the useful people by consecrating conspicuous waste, punctures leisure-class pretentions. Finally, for a century most of the writers of genius—Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley, Dickens, Thackeray, Hardy, Shaw, Galsworthy, Wells, Hugo, Zola, Anatole France, Ibsen, Hauptmann, Tolstoy—have riddled the legend of leisure-class superiority and idealized the laboring people.

There is no reason, then, to anticipate that heavy spenders who have rid themselves of all responsibility for production, will be conceded their coveted place of superiority. The scepter of society, is, in fact, passing to a very different element, viz. those charged with the direction of large enterprises. The merely rich are visibly losing in power to inspire awe and capture prestige by sheer lavishness of expenditure. While there will always be pelf-struck circles in which their claims are conceded, it is likely that the functional people will more and more go their way and recognize their own heirarchy of merit without paying much heed to the pretentions of snobs.

Another struggle to be noted is that between business men and the farmer-labor people. It is a strange and arresting fact that with us the fortune in the making is more potent socially than the fortune made. Never before have the men of big affairs so held the spotlight and thrust the merely rich out of the scene as in the

United States today. There could be no question that active business men, the heads of large enterprises, are far more looked up to and deferred to than those who have converted their wealth into forms needing little attention and retired to lead the life of a country gentleman. This is wholesome, no doubt, but why should it occur? The cause seems to be the tone of the newspapers and the magazines. More and more these live by their receipts from advertising and hence they habitually laud and glorify the active business man who is a possible buyer of advertising space. On the other hand, not being venal, they have no motive for showing a special tenderness toward those who have retired with a bushel of bonds.

Continually pictured as a superman, a being of tremendous intellectual grasp, beside whom the proletarians are pigmies and the professional men weaklings, the business man at last comes to believe it and takes himself with tremendous seriousness. While it has come to be quite

the common thing for the business man to give his boy a college education, so that the college bred in the ranks of business are more frequent every year, there is no reason to suppose that the gap has been much narrowed which separates them from the members of the learned professions. Nevertheless, professional men enjoy no such undisputed community leadership as they did two generations ago. Emboldened by the rush of newspaper flattery to the head, the business men have brushed them aside, seized the reins, and "sold" themselves to the public. In Rotary or Kiwanis club, it is amusing to watch the growing disposition of hardware dealers and haberdashers to show the professional men their place.

In the *Saturday Evening Post*, which in the last dozen years has degenerated from a national weekly into a sycophant of business, one notices quite telling onslaughts on lawyers, physicians and professors. Since none of these provide any advertising for the costly pages of the

Post, they are fair game. Likewise, there are innumerable articles and cartoons aimed at the economic vagaries and the political follies of working men and farmers. The one element which is never censored, exposed, belittled or ridiculed is the business man. On the contrary, they are fed taffy of a thousand flavors in disguises and made to feel themselves a tortoise upon whom the whole visible scheme of things exists. Is it any wonder that the regular consumers of this adulation throw out their chests and assume a supermanly air? In the last dozen years there has been an extraordinary association among business men. There is hardly a sizable town that has not, besides its chamber of commerce or merchants and manufacturers association, its Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Gyro and Optimist clubs. From them, no doubt, flow many excellent results. They promote good fellowship and check the growth of petty grudges among trade competitors. They stage addresses and discussions which

broaden the outlook of their members. Thanks to association, the grasping, clutching penny-pinching curmudgeon type of shop keeper is nearly a being of the past. These clubs do not fail to remind the member that a man owes his community something and the wholesome note of service is often struck.

On the other hand, working men and farmers never figure appreciably in these organizations and rarely are their views aired. The members hear too much laudation of their class, too much consecration of their prejudices. They listen to too many fulsome obsequious speeches. They come to feel so sure of themselves that they have no tolerance for views which clash with their ingrained conviction of superiority and infallibility. Toward the speaker who deals ruthlessly with their pet delusions they show instant animus. Even upon one another they impose an iron yoke of orthodoxy. For a while they playfully "josh" one of their number who gives other than the standard-business-

man reaction to labor-unionism, price-fixing, excess-profits taxes, government regulation of business and the Non-Partisan League. But, if he is not amenable to this benign treatment, he becomes a pariah unless he is a financial whale whose eccentricities must be tolerated.

We have no reason to suppose that the men of business are either more selfish or less selfish than other people. On an issue which comes up between a section of the business class and the body of consumers, or mill hands, or policy holders, some will unhesitatingly side with their own class, while others lean to a public point of view and inquire what justice or truth calls for in the given premises. Now, this latter type is rapidly being eliminated by the power of propaganda. The way things are going the broad disinterested view of public questions will become only a memory among business men. The speakers and organs, which are circulated among these clubs and mold their minds, are intended to line them up solidly for a

class view of every issue which comes up. The ramifying interests and the key men who secretly pull the wires of these organizations aim to marshal them in hearty support of everything the dominating business groups want whether or not it is in the public interest that they should have it, and against everything consumers or wage-earners or farmers or school patrons want which is disadvantageous to these dominant business groups, no matter how much they may be entitled to it. No system could be devised more efficacious in killing in the individual merchant the impulse to react to a question as an American, a patriot, a citizen, a parent, or a Christian, and to establish in him the habit of reacting always as a member of a self-confident superior class, whose opinions and claims (he is constantly assured) should take precedence over all other opinions and claims.

In these groups, lunching together once a week, suggestioned and indoctrinated constantly by higher-ups from outside,

the conviction of the wonderful thought-power, will-force, and social value of the business class becomes so intense that they see nothing out of the way in taking into their hands decisions about matters which pertain to the community as a whole, such as parks, police, taxes, bond issues, poor relief and schools. That union men, householders, classroom teachers or other groups should object to the business man self-sacrificingly making these decisions for them seems to them monstrous and intolerable. Anyone who raises a voice against their dictation to city officials or public schools or private charities is a "Bolshevik" and must forthwith be deprived of his means of livelihood, *pour encourager les autres*. When one observes how a knot of smug bankers and merchants will cause to be pursued with the most tireless malignacy the preacher, teacher or employe who ventures to arraign their sordid local domination, one wonders whether ever the world has known poorer sportsmen than the typical organized business men.

It is certain that the egoism and aggressiveness which this element is frequently seduced into by their astute leaders will not go on forever without being challenged. If business men do not make their organizations express their public spirit and good will rather than the greed and intolerance of a self-conscious dominant class, they will find the rest of the community united to checkmate their every demand. Non-business elements, obliged in self defense to learn the lesson of standing together, will narrow the gap in organizedness between themselves and the business element. Community councils will be set up, giving fair representation to all the elements of the community and the local chamber of commerce will be politely requested to content itself henceforth with looking after the legitimate interests of business.

Finally we come to consider what the socialists regard as the real "class struggle," that is, the conflicts between employers and employees, or between "labor"

and "capital," as popular parlance runs. This is, of course, a byproduct of extension of the market and of machine production. It has developed in the course of a century and a half because the giant role of capital, both mercantile and industrial, has raised up in the industrial field groups whose interests sharply clash.

Mark how the going over from handicraft to machine production affects human relationships. In the little stalls which lined the streets of an Oriental city, each occupied by a worker in ivory, or blockwood, or lacquer, or silk, or brass, the worker owns the shop, the tools and the materials. So, naturally, he owns the product. Here there is no room for strife between labor and capital. But in modern industry the worker works in another man's factory under another man's supervision, with another man's machinery, on another man's material and the product belongs to the other man, all the worker's claim being liquidated in the wage he receives. Here is the root of the vast

issue which has grown up in modern society.

As the invested capital per worker grows there is a larger stake between employees and employers. A century ago a striker cost the mill owner the use of, say $200, so long as the strike was in force. Now the striker costs him the use of $2,000 and there are industries in which a tie-up sterilizes $35,000 per striker. Naturally, the faster a man is losing money, the more he is tempted to resort to desperate measures. The capitalist of today goes further in hiring labor spies and gunmen, in secretly controlling the local government or the state government in order to be able to inject police or militia into the situation, than the capitalist of two generations ago. Not that he is a worse man than his predecessors. Generally he is a broader, better man, but he is in a more trying situation. On the other hand, working men understand quite well that capitalists resort to drastic measures in order to head off or break

a strike, so they, too, go to the limit to prevent their strike being broken. The result is that both parties are more willing to trample upon morality and violate the law in order to avoid defeat.

Here is the reason why strikes in such branches as railroads, shipping, docks, telegraphs, telephones, and steel, in which the average striker sterilizes from $10,000 to $30,000, are generally attended with much more law-breaking than mill strikes, in which the average striker sterilizes from $2,000 to $7,000. It is significant, too, that the strike is being wielded more freely. Before 1835 we know of only 24 strikes in American industry. From 1835 to 1880 there is record of 300. In the twenty-five years from 1880 to 1905 there were 38,303 strikes, lasting more than a day. About the same number occurred in the next fifteen years. The combatants seem to be in the grasp of relentless forces which oblige them to behave as they do.

Again consider the continual growth in the size of the producing unit. One hun-

dred years ago the average wagon shop in this country employed ten men; now it employs a hundred. In the old days if a worker in one of these shops had a grievance, he got a sympathetic hearing, for if he quit he took with him ten per cent of the producing capacity of that shop. Hence, the boss was willing to listen to him and to give him satisfaction if he could. Now the disgruntled worker who quits takes with him only one per cent of the producing capacity of the concern. He is only one-tenth as important as he used to be. The individual protesting worker has become a pigmy, in the eyes of the employer.

On the other hand, in the olden days the workman who quit might walk around the block and find another job just as good. Now, with shops so much bigger, there are fewer of them, and he may have to look for weeks or remove his family to another town before he can get a job at his specialty. So that while the individual workman has shrunken to a pigmy in the

eyes of the boss, the boss has become a giant in the eyes of the workman.

Here is the motive of the immense movement all over the modern industrial world toward the organization of labor and the substitution of collective bargaining for individual bargaining. Now, such organizations may assume either of two forms. Suppose that the capitalist makes with the committee of his organized employees a single bargain for all of them for the coming year. This in a measure equalizes them with him. He can cut off their income if they balk at his demands, but they can cut off his income if he balks at their demands. However, notice this. If the capitalist owns his plant, he can borrow money on it even if it is idle, so that it will be a long time before his family comes into want; whereas, the workmen, not being capitalists, are sure to come into acute distress after a few weeks of idleness. The workers try to overcome this handicap by forming comprehensive unions. If those in this establishment are in

a union with those in forty other establishments, then if this union approves their strike they may be supported during the strike by contributions from the workers in the forty other establishments. In this way the holding-out-power of workmen comes to equal approximately that of their employer. The employers realize this and hence men who accept the principle of collective bargaining with their own organized employees absolutely refuse to deal with the representative of a wide union. Their motive is camouflaged by some such high-sounding phrase as "open shop," the "American plan," "freedom of industry," or "I refuse to allow any walking delegate come between me and my employees."

On the other hand, a development has been going on which makes for peace between capital and labor. Forty years ago in the heyday of cut-throat competition, when the profits of even the successful manufacturing concern were likely to be precarious, it was natural for the hard-

pressed manufacturer to save business by slashing his prices, hoping to pass on the cut to labor in the form of a reduction of wages. When the workers found themselves with their backs against the wall defending their standard of living, they hit back with bitter, hard-fought strikes attended with rough treatment of the "scab" and the strike-breaker. Since then ruthless price-cutting among producers of the same thing has become the exception. The claws of competitors have been pretty well trimmed. Combination, good understandings, quiet price-fixing, "live and let live" have become the order of the day. Production is carried on in bigger concerns enjoying greater control over the market. The practice of cutting prices expecting to take it out of the worker's hide has been largely abandoned. Prices are better sustained, profits are ampler and surer and a large number of concerns have made it their policy to do anything within reason to live at peace with their employees.

In their primitive form labor disputes are not class struggle at all, for the parties are a group of working men and a group of capitalists together with salaried employees, not self-conscious social classes. The stakes are definite things such as the removal of a concrete abuse, the curtailment of the length of the working day or ten cents more pay per hour, not the sharing of power or prestige as you would expect in a true class struggle.

Nevertheless, there is a marked tendency for the struggle in the individual shop to reach out and draw in more persons until you have something like a class line-up. Just as after the First Battle of the Marne the Germans and the Allies, each fearful of being outflanked by the other, extended their lines laterally until they reached to the Channel on the one side and to Switzerland on the other, so there is a tendency on the part of labor unions to extend their organization into the unorganized plants and fields. When this has occurred the "independent" employer

becomes conscious of being at a disadvantage. In knowledge of wages and labor supply and demand the union officials are his superiors. In handling a strike he is a novice, whereas his opponents are experts for they spend all their time on such matters whereas he has to wrestle with many problems of other types. If a hard-fought strike results in a nation-wide boycott of his product, he faces ruin or the alternative of a long and costly litigation. Accordingly, there is a tendency for employers within a certain field to unite in an employers' association such as the National Founders' Association, the National Erectors' Association, or the National Metal Trades Association with its thousand employer members. So organization on both sides expands until nation-wide blocks of labor confront nation-wide blocks of capital. The soft-coal operators in West Virginia are in sharp competition with the soft-coal operators of Illinois. The clothing manufacturers of New York are competing with

the clothing manufacturers of Rochester and Chicago. If the soft-coal miners of Illinois win something from the operators, the latter will profess that they cannot compete with the operators of West Virginia or Kansas unless the miners there organize and secure like terms. The workers of one garment-making center can not feel sure of a gain unless the garment workers of other centers can be roused to exact like terms of *their* bosses.

But the product of coal miners does not compete with the product of iron miners or silver miners, so we perceive no tendency for the line-up in industrial battle to cross the frontiers between industries. The workers in one industry do not combine for economic action with workers in other industry, nor do employers in one industry make common cause in an industrial contest with employers in other industries.

A brimstone smell is in the air when a local Citizens' Alliance or Merchants and Manufacturers' Association confronts a

Central Labor Union or the I. W. W., or when a national centralized belligerent propaganda association of manufacturers dedicates itself to opposing any legislation which is sought by the American Federation of Labor. Nor can we doubt the presence of class struggle when would-be neutrals are intimidated and obliged to come into the fray on one side or the other.

In view of the forms ever more extreme and startling which industrial strife has assumed in recent decades, in view of the increasing difficulty of the position of those who do not wish to identify themselves with either side, but wish to investigate and consider, until it becomes clear what economic policy is best for society as a whole, one may well wonder whether the process of consolidation will go on until every one has been obliged to choose his side. Then there would be no neutrals left to mediate between the infuriated classes and society would be wrecked by real social war.

An analysis of the grounds of the oppositions between labor and capital does not warrant so gloomy a prophesy. The field of battle is being widened, to be sure, and with increasing frequency consolidated labor faces consolidated employers. But there is ground for hoping that means may be found of making the struggle less ruthless and desperate. A century hence it will be recognized that our troubles today arise from the necessity of adjusting human relations to a new type of industry, viz. machine production. The progressively capitalistic character of production and the greater size of production units are translating industry from the sphere of the individual to the sphere of society. The autocratic control of the representatives of capital over the lives of thousands of workers with their families, over the degree of risk, the menace to health, the pace of labor, the length of the working day, factory discipline, pay, housing and other features of existence is a relic from an earlier stage of industry.

Today such control is an anachronism and a misfit. Its support in the moral and legal conceptions which grew up in the era of petty production is crumbling. Great industry will be, in some degree, institutionalized. Every considerable establishment bids fair to be treated as a "public utility." Power without responsibility for its exercise will not be conceded to the captain of industry. In the words of President Hadley: "Property owners and their counsel must accept that the idea that private property is in the large sense a public trust and that the rights of the property owner depend on the extent to which the perpetuation of the trust contributes to the purposes for which it was created."[1]

By enforcing safety measures and the obligation to compensate for industrial accidents, by outlawing working conditions inimical to health and morals, by limiting the hours and fixing a legal minimum wage for working women, by pro-

[1] A. T. Hadley, "Economic Problems of Democracy." p. 139.

tecting the workers from the competition of immigrants with a lower standard of living and a more abject attitude toward the employer, by providing for the amicable adjustment of industrial disputes which threaten the continuous operation of public utilities and by other remedial measures, organized society is, here and there, projecting its rational will into the relations between labor and capital. The larger the number of successful interventions of society to remove some abuse which exasperates labor, the fewer will be the stakes of industrial conflict and the greater will be the realized well-being working men jeopardize by engaging in an ill-considered or ill-fought battle with capital. Moreover, the less often wage earners have been goaded to desperation by suffering unredressed wrongs, the more willing they should be to keep their quarrels within the limits laid down by law and public opinion.

The wage earners ought to be able to achieve in time the necessary enlargement

of their legal rights in industry, for they are no longer a hopeless minority as they were in an earlier stage of our industrial development. Between 1870 and 1920 the industrial wage earners from being 26.6% of the gainfully employed, became 42.4%. In these fifty years the industrial workers, servants, and lower-salaried from being 37% of the gainfully employed became 55%. As layer after layer from being independent of self-employed come to sell their services, more ability and income is comprised within the wage-earning body and it includes more persons fit to lead it. Every success in modifying their status to their advantage heightens their confidence in the political remedy and renders them less disposed to attempt to correct their ills by a resort to the economic weapon.

There is good cheer, too, in the spread among employers of the conviction that the inherited structure of industry cannot continue unmodified, and that somehow the workers must be more completely in-

corporated into the enterprise than they have been. It seems clear that the one-sided determination of everything in industry by the will of the agents of capital is bound to be the exception rather than the rule and that means will be found for giving the organized workers a voice in those decisions which affect their welfare. It is a good sign that the number of Works Councils which have sprung up in American industry in the last half-dozen years is not now far from a thousand.

The greatest difficulty in keeping American society from drifting over the brink into the abyss of class war is that so many persons in the ranks of labor as well as in the ranks of capital deem class war inevitable and rush to meet it in utter ignorance of what horrors they would unloose. Since the Civil War every intelligent American has an intense fear of sectionalism and uses the greatest prudence in avoiding it. Mindful of the frightful religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he is also

haunted by the dread of sectarian strife and will make almost any concession to keep the religious issue from being injected into politics. But the same citizen who has learned these wholesome lessons from the bloody past shows in labor-capital disputes the same reckless spirit which prompted the Northern Anti-slavery men to denounce the American Constitution as "a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell" and the Souther Secessionists to promise to mop up all the blood that would be shed with a pocket handkerchief and to pay the cost of the Civil War with a ten-cent piece. These madmen brought on the cataclysm of 1861–5 and the same type of madmen today are doing their utmost to bring on a social war which would be unspeakably worse than the Civil War. Shall we have to suffer so dreadful a tragedy before we learn that the alteration in relations between employers and working men to suit the new age is not something in which fools and hotheads should be listened to. The I. W.

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W. with its war cry: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common" and "Labor is entitled to all it produces," and the hard-shell employers with their slogans "Nothing to arbitrate" and "I propose to run my business in my own way" are madmen and should be thrust aside in order to let sober-minded judicial men tackle the question.

MEANS OF AVERTING CLASS WAR

1. Free speech, free press and free assemblage should be protected with a religious scrupulousness. The unhindered ventilation of wrongs and grievances not only affords emotional relief but calls into operation healing and corrective agencies. To throttle free communication is to tie down a safety valve.

2. The establishment of the essential facts in all disputed matters by impartial authorities trusted by both sides may be expected to narrow the distance between the contentions of opponents.

3. If teachers of the social sciences be

assured of immunity from molestation on account of their utterances, they will exercise a most beneficial influence by giving an unbiased judgment on issues which arise between classes and guiding the inclinations of the disinterested public. By throwing their support, now to one party, now to the other, they will make both wary of taking up extreme and indefensible positions.

4. Every removal of evils suffered by some group of wage-earners contributes in some measure to lessen the scope of intensity of class animosity. On the other hand the accumulation of unredressed abuses drives the workers toward despair and desperation.

5. The assuagement of the labor-capital strife calls for the acquisition by labor of reward, a security, and a degree of self-determination which hitherto it has not generally had. But these gains should not be made in such a way as to lower the morale of industry or to impair the mo-

tives upon which the proper functioning of private capitalism depends.

6. Every effort should be made by the improvement of publication, the multiplication of scholarships, vocational guidance and access to credit to provide staircases for ascent from one economic level to another and to prevent the wielding of industrial power from becoming a matter of inheritance.

CHAPTER V

THE ALLAYING OF TOWN-COUNTRY CONFLICT

A hundred years ago the typical tiller of the soil was a domestic husbandman, who raised most of what he consumed and consumed most of what he raised. When he began to produce for sale, he produced for the community of which he was a member and that community was a small one. For most of his stuff he received what the consumer paid or, if not, the difference was the modest margin made by the village store-keeper. He was not dependent on a national market for his produce, let alone a world market. The high cost of transportation saw to that. He read the same literature as did the tradesman of the village; he attended the same gatherings and voted the same ticket. They were members of the same

community and of class consciousness there was none.

But economic developments came which upset these close relations. Cheap transportation enabled farm products to be brought together in great quantity at regional centers, and the surplus not absorbed there moved on to enter into the supply of a market still more remote and general. Inevitably farmers, without being conscious of it, were brought into competition with producers, in remote parts of the country or even overseas, of whose existence they had not even heard. The price of his produce in the local market, reflecting the price in the more general market, which in turn reflected the price in the most general market, came to bear no relation whatever to his cost of producing it, or to his financial necessities. More and more the forces determining his income passed beyond his observation or understanding, to say nothing of his control.

A like development occurred to him as

consumer. Time was when the sources of the clothing, footwear, tools, implements and lumber he did not produce on the farm for himself were not so large and remote but that he could care fairly well for his own interests in dealing with them. But the same expanding organization which makes him feel himself a cipher in the marketing of his produce makes him feel himself a cipher as regards the terms on which he buys. In the absence of farmer-coöperation, the farmer drives into town with his wheat or hogs and asks some buyer, "What are you paying today?" Later in the day, with the proceeds of his sale in his pocket, he enters the store of the hardware dealer or implement man, picks up a desired object and inquires, "What are you asking for this?" The fact that whether he sells or buys the farmer has been letting the other fellow do all the pricing exhibits in a nutshell his economic passiveness. From being a synonym for independence, the unassociated farmer has come to be in some parts the

synonym for commercial helplessness and dependence. Of course I do not intend to insinuate that those with whom the farmer deals can charge him what they please and "get away with it." Well does the economist know that there is a Nemesis on the trail of the grain buyer who names a price arbitrarily low, of the implement dealer who prices his things too high. All I insist on is that the fact that some one else names the price to the farmer is significant of his position in the contemporary commercial scheme.

The classical position was that no one has any control over price save the possessor of a copper-riveted monopoly. As for the rest, whether they name or inquire the price makes no difference. Competition will settle it in the end anyway. Through most of the nineteenth century we Americans almost worshipped competition as the principle which, if left to itself, would iron out all the rumples of trade and prevent any class of men from holding a lasting advantage over any other class.

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So all wide-spread association among the masses of men came to be regarded as undesirable. Says Prof. Hibberd:

> Business men so-called did not apply this to themselves, and their organizations continued to grow throughout the period, but the sentiment of the time acted as a restraining force against all tendencies toward wide-spread associated effort. It helped to develop the spirit of individualism which has made the American farmer one of the hardest of all men to enlist in coöperative undertakings.

The trend of the last fifty years has been away from unlimited competition. The working men formed unions which have achieved permanency and which are all-inclusive so far as skilled workmen are concerned. The great bulk of manufactured goods is produced not by individuals but by companies which in many cases have absorbed a great number of independent enterprises. By so doing they have greatly increased their bargaining power, which rewards them with better prices for what they sell. Among railroads the practice of rate-cutting is no

longer known. "Rate wars," such as raged forty years ago, are but a memory. Likewise manufacturers and merchants have learned the lesson of working together. While in muffled form competition persists as an unseen regulator of their commercial conduct, they are no longer its sport and plaything as they were in the old days before "get together" became the slogan of business men. It is the farmers who have been tardiest in falling in with the procession headed toward organization and some mastery over one's economic fate. So long as they are behind the classes they deal with in appreciating the worth of associated effort, so long will these classes throw upon the farmers much of the cost of the economic security which they are coming to enjoy.

We see, then, that when agriculturists are confronted with the data showing the surprising concentration of wealth in the cities, and with the startling fact that, had it not been for the increment of rising

agricultural land values between 1900 and 1910, which supplemented the farmer's income from his produce, farming in the United States would have been conducted at a loss in that decade; when they compare what they receive for the arduous labors of themselves and their families with the reward reaped by those with whom they do business and by town workmen no more skilled than the farmer is, they are bound to suspect that they have been victims of a system of exploitation operated by people who live in towns.

Aside from his growing sense of economic subordination, the attitude of townspeople has been a factor in planting resentment in the heart of the farmer. Says a writer:

> Urbanites have always arrogated to themselves a position of superiority relative to the agricultural classes. The city dwellers of Roman times called those on the land "rustics" and the literary men had much to say of the simplicity and crudeness of the rustic. Europe evolved its tillers of the soil into a distinct peasant class and its ignorance and stolidity are proverbial; the ideational prod-

uct largely of white-bearded gentry delving in the field of urban literature. That the urbanites and townsmen of the United States "look down on" the country-man is made evident in many ways. His rough dress, his tousled hair and beard, sometimes bearing chaff and straws, his lack of polish in social approach and conversation, his ignorance of city ways and manners have been mirrored in printed paragraphs and jibes of press, playhouse, and street. The refined and superior manners of city dwellers are exhibited in the taunts the town boy hurls at the country boy who puts his feet within the sacred precincts of the former. Conscious that he is different in clothes and calling, and feeling at a great disadvantage, the country boy comes to partly accept his assigned position to a lower class and to resent the situation and to "want to get even". Out of this situation that has persisted generation after generation has arisen a kind of unconscious class consciousness relative to each on the part of country and city dwellers.

It is now about half a century since American farmers undertook to improve their economic condition by some form of general associated effort. Among the major farmers' movements we find the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, the American Society of Equity, the Farmers' Union, the Non-Partisan League and the

American Farm Bureau Federation. Some have been stronger in the East, others have found their field of greatest response in the West or the South. Some, like the Grange in its later phase, stress social, recreative and educational aims; while others pursue with grim single-mindedness the aim of economic betterment. Some pin their hopes to farmer-control of legislation, while others avoid the political arena and concentrate their efforts upon gaining control over the acreage and selling price of their chief product.

As time goes on, many grievances of the earlier groups of embattled farmers disappear from the scene. The railroads, once so arrogant and arbitrary, have been brought under the fullest regulation, so that now if farmers have any complaint in respect to railway services or charges, all they have to do is to appeal to a commission, which usually gives them relief if their plea has merit. Clear of the ills from a shrinking currency, the farmers have altogether abandoned their demand

for paper money or for the free coinage of silver. Earlier demands such as pure food laws, parcel post, postal savings banks and rural delivery of mail have been fulfilled. The immense development of the activities of the United States Department of Agriculture and the building up of excellent colleges of agriculture and experiment stations in the states make it inexcusable to imagine that the government does not appreciate the importance of agriculture. Special provision for supplying government credit to the farmer has been made and no one can doubt that along that path we shall proceed as far as is safe. After nearly forty years of denunciation of "grain gambling" the Grain-Futures Bill has become a law. The Packers' Control Act, pressed for ten years, brings to a close a long-drawn-out controversy on this question. It is settled that the farmers shall have whatever benefit a protective tariff on their produce can bring them. As, step by step, the legislative program which the wisest

farmer leaders can agree on is realized, the battle shifts to the commercial field. It is true that before the remedial measures of the last three years on behalf of farmers, the Non-Partisan League put through in North Dakota a program of a state bank for the purpose of supplying more credit to farmers and on easier terms and of state-ownership of terminal elevators, flour mills, packing-houses and cold-storage plants. But the situation of the North Dakota farmers in relation to the large commercial houses of the Twin Cities is so unique that it is very doubtful if we shall see the North Dakota experiment repeated soon in another state.

There can be no doubt that farmer-organizations with political and economic aims have had the effect of intensifying strife between country and city. Agitation has roused millions of farmers out of their apathy and filled them with a conviction that certain elements in the city have gotten them on the hip and are exploiting them. Long organized for profit, the

business elements in the cities have been persuaded to present a united front when ameliorative legislation for farmers is proposed or when farmers' coöperatives threaten the profits of some group of traders. The attitude of the latter differs in no respect from that of the Irish traders described by Sir Horace Plunkett:

> I was in parliament from 1892 to 1900, and I remember one incident which brought home to me the political power of the trading interest, and its hostility to coöperation. A minister of education nearly got his party into serious trouble for permitting the use in schools of a book in which the coöperative system was explained. . . .The Irish movement was bitterly opposed by the country traders, who saw that joint purchase of agricultural requirements and joint sale of agricultural products not only would deprive them of a considerable portion of their business but would throw light upon the quality of all articles of common consumption and the prices charged for them, and they had even more political influence in Ireland than their brethren possessed in England. . . .In a backward agricultural community the political machine is generally run, not by the farming majority, but by the trading minority. . . .The control of the political machine in ad-

vanced industrial communities by combines and trusts was never comparable to the influence upon Irish politics of the village traders.

It is well known that the advertisements of business men provide from sixty to eighty per cent of the revenues of our newspapers. It is not surprising, then, that, once the business class generally could be marshaled in hostility to farmers' movements by the traders most threatened, the newspapers usually fell in line and in the most bitter and unfair way attacked and misrepresented every farmers' movement. Outside the farm press the newspaper which showed any sympathy for the great historic farmer movements, or even told the truth about them, has been the exception rather than the rule. Hostile newspaper propaganda, then, has contributed to increase the tension between city and country.

Another factor has been the extraordinary movement toward association which has prevailed among business men for the last dozen years. The store-keepers of the

town see far more of one another than they used to. They hear more speeches and read more articles glorifying business and propagating the views and demands of the dominant elements in business, than their predecessors did. The member of the chamber of commerce or Kiwanis, or Rotary, or Lions, or Gyro club of one town feels himself a brother to the members of that club in other towns. Thus with astounding rapidity the merchants of the country towns are developing a we-feeling with one another and with the merchants of the cities, captained as they are by bankers, wholesalers and manufacturers.

Upon the local dealers who sell the surrounding farmers their supplies and handle their products this has the effect of pulling them away from sympathy with these farmers upon whom they depend. They become much more conscious of the ways in which their interests are opposed to those of their farm patrons than they are of how they might work with these

patrons in such a way as to promote the prosperity of the whole community, farmers and business men together. The farmers are several times as numerous as the business men who serve them, and, moreover, they are scattered. Distance, weather, and farm duties hinder them meeting regularly with the business men at their Tuesday luncheon. So the town business men form their own organization and pick their objectives. To be sure, once a year, they make a gesture of fellowship by holding a meeting to which each member brings a farmer guest, and at which a spasmodic effort is made to discover common interests. But the fact remains that the farmers have no real share in their organization, *camaraderie*, deliberations or policies.

Well says Prof. Gillette, who, from his coign of vantage at the University of North Dakota has seen this process at close hand:

> The position of the business men in the smaller towns and villages is especially equivocal

because of their close contact with farmers. In these smaller places the patronage is predominantly from the country. Without this trade and banking business the small businesses would fail and disappear. The merchants, bankers and others are, therefore, under far greater dependence upon, and obligation to, agriculturists about them than to the strong interests in the large cities. Nevertheless, they commonly align with the latter when farmers organize.

The attitude of the business element in small places appears all the more equivocal when it is remembered that the decrease of population in a third of the small places and the steady increase in the proportion of such places losing inhabitants during three decades indicate that the large cities are crushing them in a business way. It might be expected that the leaders in small places would have the intelligence to identify their interests with those of the agriculturists upon which they immediately depend for success and so coöperate with rather than organize against them.

The margin between manufacturers' prices and what the farmer pays, between consumers' prices and what the farmer gets is wider than it was a generation ago. In each line—lumber, agricultural implements, fertilizer, and the rest—the farmers either support more middlemen's fam-

ilies, or else furnish them a better livelihood than they used to get. This is owing to the spread of the practice of price-supporting among manufacturers, wholesalers and dealers. The retail organizations have their experts to figure out just what percentage it is necessary to add to the wholesale price to sustain their trade properly. Never before was the price-cutter so ostracised or were there so many means of crushing or intimidating him. The growing rarity of price-cutting is partly a consequence of the education of merchants in the conviction that *price-cutting doesn't pay* and partly in the organizing of punishment for the price-cutter. Combinations have been built to sustain prices and break the price-cutter. The sentiment of trade is all against the endeavor to capture business by price-cutting. The slogan is, "You can't get anywhere by fighting."

Mark you, I can't prove this. No one can. It is an impression derived from confidential talks, in towns far apart, with

merchants who see and dislike the new tendencies. But timely corroboration comes from an address by Hon. Houston Thompson of the Federal Trade Commission on March 6th, 1924, in which he is quoted as saying:

In almost every industry today. . . .they don't name or fix a set price. They fix a minimum price. . . .which *is high enough to cover their highest-cost plants*. It is high enough to take care of a sufficient number of independents and their high-cost plants, so that there will be a scenery behind the monopoly—or the dominating interest, if you wish to call it that—sufficient to make a pretense of competition. They have no objection to the independent going above this minimum price. The independent can go just as *high* as he wants above that price, but when he goes *below* that dead line they don't have any dinners and call him in—at least I don't know of any that they have.

Now there is still another group who block the market place. It is composed of jobbers' organizations. With them you have price-fixing going on—literally price-fixing. They were operating a short time ago under the "open-price" association, when the Federal Trade Commission began an insistent and persistent attack upon them, with the purpose of breaking up their sys-

tem so that there would be some sort of competition in the market place. So far as my experience dates back in the Federal Trade Commission, there is more price-fixing and price-control going on in the market today than at any other time I have known.

Unless we are willing to deflate the business world thru the revival of the competitive system, we shall rise to the point of buyers' strikes and fall back again, repeat the same thing, until we finally have a collapse that will wipe out the business structure and compel us to start all over.

Now, when you have a situation of this kind what happens? Your farmer comes in, attempts to sell, and gets in return 70¢ on the dollar. He turns around and buys and pays 100¢ or more on the dollar. *What is the use of loaning money to that farmer*, to mortgage himself and his property, and then force him to go into an artificial price-rigged market when he buys? Next year he will be around again in the same fix. Hence, I say to you that the essential thing in this country is to deflate these artificial high prices by the competitive system in our market place. This we must do before we can help the farmer.

For half a century voices have assured us that there is no basis for conflict between labor and capital, yet, for all that, the conflict has moved on in its path of

necessary development and when it has been soothed, it has been by something else than sweetish talk. Now, this town-country conflict is almost as clear-cut as the other and, based as it is on the distribution of the products of industry, it is likely to prove quite a persistent thing. It is not going to dissolve into thin air in response to a little honeyed exhortation.

It is true that town-country animosity has never brought us to extensive rioting and destruction of property as has labor-capital animosity. Embattled farmers do not look starvation in the eye as do embattled workingmen. I see no possibility of real class war growing out of it as it has at times grown out of industrial conflict. But, if not tragic, it is sometimes stern. The mobbing, tarring and feathering of the organizers of the Non-Partisan League in various states by groups of infuriated business men reveal the methods of an element which poses always as supporting "law and order." In any case, the conflict causes waste of effort and wealth,

sacrifices innocent bystanders, disorganizes the community and stirs up devastating passions. Note the following extract from a letter written by a pastor to Prof. Gillette who was to speak in C—, North Dakota, on "Community Betterment":

> We are an armed camp in C—. . . no open warfare, except that of backbiting and knocking one another, but we have all things in readiness, both sides have been making preparations for some months back. We are waiting for the season to open, and then there will be din, trouble and loss in the keen competition that must ensue from having two banks, two farm implement companies, two hardware houses, two groceries, two or three garages, two electric plants, all in a small village of about two hundred inhabitants. All of this has come the past three months. Both sides are pretty well armed, provisioned, and their credits are first rate. The line separating the camps is, "The Non-Partisan League" plus some personal friction years standing.

MEANS OF AVOIDING STRIFE BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

1. The merchants of the country town may be brought to see their mutuality of interest with their farm patrons and to

realize that the trade center ought to line up with the country, rather than with the city. For they are more dependent on the farmers, than the farmers on them. Good roads, Ford cars and the mail order houses enable the farmers to ignore the village merchants if they choose to; but the banks and stores can find no substitute for the farmers' patronage. Both farmers and merchants have a common interest in low freight rates, in good railroad service, in improved roads, in better farming, in the maintenance of schools, churches and libraries. A good understanding between them would make the farmers loath to sap the life out of the trade center by throwing their custom to the mail-order houses. There might be an organized effort to get town and country together for regular discussion as is done in the Twilight Club of Janesville, Wisconsin. There might be a federation of organized interests, as at Plymouth, Wisconsin, where on the executive board of the Chamber of Commerce, along with business men rep-

resenting retailing, wholesaling and transportation, sit farmers representing different organizations in the country, such as the Duroc Association, the Holstein Association, etc.

2. Local merchants and bankers would do well to detach themselves a little from the artful propaganda and emissaries sent out to them from the cities appealing to their class consciousness as business men, and open their minds to the literature and speakers setting forth the grievances, hopes and programs of the farmers' organizations. Naturally the farmers would reciprocate, so it might be possible to disabuse their minds of certain misconceptions they harbor as to the role of business men. If given half a chance, those who stress the mutual dependence of town and country can make a convincing plea. The disinterested investigators of agricultural economics are agreed that the time for an exploitive attitude of the trade center toward its rural constituency is by and that the proper keynote today is good will and coöperation.

3. Those who represent and speak for the farmers—the faculty of the agricultural college, the county agents, the heads of farmer organizations, the publishers of farm papers, the bankers and dealers most immediately interested in rural prosperity—should withstand the powerful incessant propaganda exalting the busines class and prepossessing the unthinking public in favor of its pretentions and demands.

4. Then all those policies which raise the rural population tend in the long run to peace between town and country by enabling the farmers better to hold their own. When the rural population respect themselves more, learn to organize, develop their leaders and gain courage to assert themselves politically, they will be more respected by the country storekeepers and the latter will be more willing to meet them half way

5. Dean Davenport of the University of Illinois recommends:

Subsidization of country schools to an extent that will ensure to every child born on the farm the opportunity of a good high school education admitting to college, with choice of differentiation along agricultural, mechanical, commercial, scientific or literary lines—and this without leaving the father's roof or breaking up the home and the business.

Progress on this line together with the spread of the consolidated school, the use of the school as a rural social center, and the inevitable narrowing of the gap between town and country in respect to education, bearing and social polish should raise the prestige of country dwellers in their own eyes and in the eyes of townsmen.

6. By adopting appropriate social policies on which agricultural economists generally agree, it is possible to prevent the development in most parts of the country of a permanent tenant class. By holding in check landlordism, especially absentee landlordism, it is possible to avoid the production of the peasant mind. No person of normal powers and equipment

should need to resign himself to lifelong tenancy.

7. The development of farmers' coöperative marketing and coöperative buying may weaken the class consciousness of the country merchants by throwing them with salaried businessmen who are in the employ of local farmers' organizations.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing it is plain that we can have among ourselves either peace or strife. If we give no thought to our social future, but simply follow the promptings of our instinct of pugnacity when some other group comes between us and something we want, there will be strife a plenty. From time to time there will be riots, mobs, street collisions, terroristic night-riding, race wars, White Cap-ism, bombing, incendiarism and the rest of the ugly repertory. Not that our country will ever break up from such strains—in the end the conservative forces will always prevent that—but there will be enough bloodshed and destruction of property to mar our prosperity and blot our fair fame. Then *all the time* there will be ill-will, hatred and suspicion between certain elements of our population.

If, on the other hand, we set up social peace as a shining goal, if we bestow upon it as much anxious thought as we do upon national defense, if we make as many sacrifices for it as we make for military preparedness, we shall have our eventual reward in fewer disgraceful outbreaks and clashes, in the prevalence of social tranquillity, in the reign of good will and mutual confidence among races, sects, and classes, in wider and better team-work for the attainment of common ends. Huge, diffused and heterogeneous as the American people are, we can avoid devastating and embittering strife among ourselves provided we take those steps and pursue those policies which are known to lead in the direction of good understanding and social harmony.

We have among us men of undershot jaws, square chin, bull neck, steely eye and challenging look. They are the bull dog breed, fine leaders when fighting is to be done. Send them to the fore if it is a problem of repelling invasion, suppressing

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outlaws, putting a railroad through the mountains, harnessing a water fall, curbing a rampant river, or reclaiming the desert. But, if it is social peace that we want, send them to the rear when the conflicting demands of aroused social groups are under consideration and invite to the front men less endowed with pugnacity, a type less developed in the lower part of the face but more developed above the eyes—*thinkers*, rather than *fighters*. Listen to them *and to women*, the less pugnacious sex. It is such leaders who will find a way for confronted social groups exchanging defiant looks to get by each other without clash and to resume their march toward their goals.

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